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LEDGERS OF THE ROYAL TREASURERS IN SPANISH AMERICA IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

The administrative organization of the former Spanish colonies in America is a field of research offering endless opportunities to the historical investigator. Local government, the *audiencia*, the viceroy, the colonial exchequer, ecclesiastical administration, Indian policy, none of them have received the thorough study which their importance warrants. We have generally been too content with meager gleanings from the *Recopilación de Leyes de las Indias*, in itself often an authority of doubtful value, eked out with what one may learn from Herrera's *Historia General de las Indias* and from a few juridical writers like Juan de Solórzano Pereira. The great collections of printed documents, such as the *Colección de Documentos Ineditos relativos al . . . América y Oceania*, have yet to be more fully utilized, and the marvellously rich colonial archives in Seville ransacked for illustrative material. As much of course may be said with regard to nearly every aspect of Hispanic American history, whether colonial or republican. Hispanic America awaits the labors of conscientious, enlightened modern scholarship. A deal of monographic writing is necessary before any definitive accounts of our southern neighbors may be attempted. But in the colonial era, while political events are generally of but limited, provincial appeal, the development of administrative organization is not only of consuming interest, but also extremely valuable for the history of European expansion in modern times.

The writer lays no claim to any serious contribution to our understanding of Spanish colonial administration. An essay printed in 1918¹ attempted to present a preliminary sketch of the organization and workings of the royal *hacienda* in the

¹ *American Historical Review*, XXIII., 779.

Indies in the sixteenth century. But it was only a sketch, which will doubtless require emendation as our knowledge deepens. What is here offered is material more or less representative of the receipts and expenditures of the royal treasurers in America in the time of Ferdinand the Catholic and Charles V., the period when colonial administration was taking permanent shape.

The early accounts of the treasurers of the more important colonies have been preserved virtually intact, and are easily accessible in the Archivo de Indias at Seville. Those for the viceroyalty of New Spain, including for exchequer purposes all lands north of Guatemala and Honduras, are complete from September, 1521, a few days after Hernando Cortés captured the great pueblo which later became Mexico City.

The first royal treasurer was Julian de Alderete, the officer accused of instigating the torture of the fallen Aztec prince after the taking of the city. In May, 1522, he left Mexico for Spain with the gold, jewels, and other trophies which constituted the first remittance of booty by Cortés to the Emperor; but he died on the voyage at Havana, thereby, it may be added, escaping capture by French corsairs when the little fleet later neared the Canary Islands. Diego de Soto, his deputy and successor, accompanied the second shipment of treasure by Cortés to Charles V. in 1524; and Alonso de Estrada, the third treasurer, was the individual to whom the royal *visitador*, Luis Ponce de Leon, delegated his powers at his untimely death by fever just after his arrival from Spain in the summer of 1526. Estrada continued at the head of the exchequer till he died in 1530. The next treasurer, Juan Alonso de Sosa, held office for over twenty-one years, from November, 1531 to March, 1553, and was followed by Fernando de Portugal, whose term carries us well into the reign of Philip II.

A tabular view of the receipts of the Mexican treasury between 1521 and 1560 appears on the two following pages.² As this table indicates, the principal items were the *quinto*, Indian tribute, judicial fines and confiscations, *almojarifazgo*, and the *cruzada*. The monetary units employed, it will be noticed, were

² Archivo de Indias, 4-1-1/19; 4-1-4/22; 4-1-5/23; 4-2-10/1.

RECEIPTS OF THE TREASURERS OF THE HACIENDA REAL IN NEW SPAIN, 1521-39

CUENTA DEL TESORERO			QUINTO, ETC.	TRIBUTOS	PENAS DE CÁMARA	ALMOJARI-FAZGO	MISCELÁNEA	TOTAL
Julian de Alderete Sept. 25, 1521 May 17, 1522	p. de oro	“de ley”	31,860-0-3	1,020-0-0	1,134-6-5		11,089-0-3	45,103-6-11
	m. de plata	bajo	3,403-0-10	474-1-0			286-6-1	4,163-7-11
		de plata	35-5-0	83-5-0			24-2-4	143-4-4
Diego de Soto May 20, 1522 March, 1524	p. de oro	común	37,473-0-10				14,239-2-11	51,730-3-9
	m. de plata	común + 3 quil.	55,000-0-0 (?)	6,000-0-0 (?)	?		?	69,119-4-11
Alonso de Estrada August 1524 Feb. 16, 1530	p. de oro	común	78,422-1-0		4,454-3-1	18,143-5-5	20,319-4-8	121,339-6-2
	m. de plata	común + 3 quil. de ley perfecta	1,208-0-10	55,000-0-0 (?)	?		?	83,726-0-1
				38,000-0-0				25,321-2-11
Jorge de Alvarado Feb. 16, 1530 Nov. 6, 1531	m. de plata		800-0-0 (?)				190-7-4 (?)	990-7-4
	p. de oro	común	40,000-0-0 (?)	10,000-0-0 (?)		28,940-0-1	11,733-6-5	90,673-6-6
	m. de plata	de ley perfecta	19,000-0-0 (?)					
			250-0-0 (?)		?		?	329-5-4
Juan Al° de So:a Nov. 16, 1531 July 31, 1539	p. de oro	Tipuzque		10,922-6-1	3,604-2-10	80,731-5-9	62,285-5-6	157,544-4-2
	m. de plata.	de minas	245,659-3-9	134,738-2-8	8,081-7-5	37,614-5-11	1,125-1-2	427,219-4-11
		fina	33,434-2-0		64-2-2			33,498-6-2
		baja	288-2-1	227-5-4				515-7-5

RECEIPTS OF THE TREASURERS OF THE HACIENDA REAL IN NEW SPAIN, 1539-60

CUENTA DEL TESORERO		QUINTO, ETC.	TRIBUTOS	PENAS DE CÁMARA	CRUZADA	MISCELÁNEA	TOTAL
Juan Al° de Sosa Aug. 1, 1539 May 31, 1544	p. de oro	de minas de Tipuzque	136,951-7-6	6,816-4-7		7,340-3-9	231,653-0-3
	m. de pl.	fina baja	32,675-0-6	1,880-3-2	2,314-3-0	1,289-7-5	44,964-6-1
			644-6-0	30-2-4			66,536-1-0
							644-6-0
Ibidem June 1, 1544 Dec. 31, 1549	p. de oro	de minas de Tipuzque	121,467-4-3	9,708-7-11	3,440-5-0	8,804-4-0	170,103-5-1
	m. de plata.	fina baja	190,685-1-6	6,285-0-2	8,675-5-1	150,760-5-10	354,406-4-7
			630-4-0				108,680-6-3
							630-4-0
Ibidem Jan. 1, 1550 Mar. 11, 1553	p. de oro	de minas de Tipuzque	90,138-3-11	2,797-6-6		113,686-3-10	211,748-6-4
	m. de plata.	fina baja	187,271-2-7	7,716-5-5		77,029-0-8	272,017-0-8
						5,669-1-4	80,134-5-1
						293-1-6	293-1-6
Fern. de Portugal Mar. 11, 1553 Aug. 21, 1555	oro de minas		60,991-5-11			42,445-2-4	446,544-4-7
	" " Tipuzque		288,297-0-10		Azogue—	33,855-1-11	322,152-2-9
	oro de minas		86,584-3-10		33,208-4-0	397,378-2-10	1,092,840-0-11
	" " Tipuzque		512,115-5-11			214,251-3-1	726,367-1-0

Denominations for gold: 1 peso = 8 tomines = 96 granos.

Denominations for silver: 1 marco = 8 onzas = 64 ochavas.

various and confusing—"oro de ley," "oro común," "oro mejor que común con tres quilates añadidos," "oro de ley perfecta," "oro de minas," "oro de Tipuzque," etc. It has been explained in another place³ that the relative value of these units, expressed in Spanish *maravedís*, was probably somewhat as follows:

<i>Peso de oro</i>	<i>Maravedís</i>
<i>de Tipuzque</i>	272
<i>común</i>	300
<i>común con 3 quilates añadidos</i>	360
<i>de ley perfecta</i>	450
<i>de minas</i>	450

A marc of silver was supposed to be worth roughly five gold pesos, but later came to be reckoned at 2210 *maravedís*, close to the legal value set upon it in Spain.

Translating the figures of the table in terms of Spanish silver dollars, we obtain the following results: The *quinto*, or royal fifth of gold, silver, and precious stones from booty and the produce of mines, during the first decade probably amounted to about 386,000 pesos, the tribute of the natives to something over 93,000 pesos. The only other large item is that of the *almojarifazgo* or customs, which apparently was not collected till 1524, and during the next seven years netted about 50,000 pesos. The total receipts of the treasury in this decade were nearly 694,000 pesos, of which about 373,000 pesos, or approximately the proceeds of the *quinto*, were sent to Spain on the account of the king. It is interesting to read in Alderete's ledger evidence of how large a part of the booty taken from the Aztecs consisted of such articles as cotton cloths, cocoa, and slaves. The king's share, one-fifth, just as in the case of jewels and other more precious spoil, was valued at over 9,000 pesos; from which we infer that the entire value of such booty was nearly 50,000 pesos.

During the next eight years, the first period of Alonso de Sosa's treasurership (November, 1531–August, 1539), the receipts more than doubled. Mines were being exploited, and the tribute of the natives organized and systematized, while immigration was laying the foundations for a new Spanish co-

³ *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, XXIX., 475.

lonial society and greatly increasing the demand for European imports. During this short period the total receipts of the Mexican treasury were nearly 1,212,000 pesos, of which about 678,000 pesos represented the *quinto*, 235,000 pesos, Indian tribute, and 143,000 pesos the proceeds of the *almojarifazgo*. In the same years, 333,000 pesos were shipped to the king.

In the following decade the total receipts again doubled, being roughly 2,488,000 pesos. To this the *quinto* contributed 1,601,000 pesos, and the natives in tribute 695,000 pesos. The customs returns were not clearly itemized, but judging from the figures of previous years, they probably amounted to between 15,000 and 20,000 pesos annually. On the other hand, we hear for the first time of a new source of income, the *cruzada*, which netted close to 17,000 pesos. During the decade, 640,500 pesos were sent to Spain.

In the last period covered by the table, the revenue continues to increase in the same ratio, the receipts being about 4,867,000 pesos. The *quinto* rose to 2,131,000 pesos, and the tribute to 1,381,000 pesos. A new item, the proceeds of the sale of mercury to the silver miners, which had been declared a royal monopoly, added about 55,000 pesos to the treasurer's accounts. To the metropolis was transmitted the unprecedented sum of 1,769,500 pesos. One may set these early figures over against those of the same exchequer office a century and a half later. Under the government of the Conde de Galve, from November, 1688 to February, 1696, a period of seven years and three months, the *quinto* in New Spain amounted to 4,346,500 pesos, all the other revenues together to 10,403,500 pesos, comprising a total of 14,750,000 pesos, or an average of a trifle over two million pesos a year. Between 1550 and 1560, as we have just seen, the annual average had been 486,700 pesos. In the later period, however, only 926,000 pesos were remitted to Spain, or about one-sixteenth of the entire receipts of the viceroyalty.⁴

⁴ New York Public Library, Manuscripts Department: "Mexico—Real Hacienda. Certificación general . . . de lo producido . . . en la Real Casa de Méjico . . . desde 20 de Noviembre del año de 1688 . . . hasta 27 de Febrero del de 1696."

The papers of the royal exchequer in the Peruvian kingdom are in many respects as enlightening as those for New Spain, and they begin as promptly.⁵ The ledgers of the first treasurer, Alonso Riguelme, open on April 16, 1531, when Francisco Pizarro and his band were preparing to leave the coast at Tumbes for Cajamarca and the uplands of Peru, and Riguelme continued to serve till his death in May, 1548. His receipts, therefore, include the royal share of the plunder of the Inca empire. During the next ten years, six treasurers followed in rapid succession, none of them serving more than two years. The receipts of each, expressed in terms of Spanish silver dollars, were as follows:

	<i>Pesos</i>
April 16, 1531-May 8, 1548.....	3,468,500
(Alonso Riguelme, treasurer)	
May 8, 1548-December 31, 1549.....	866,000
(Bernaldino de San Pedro, treasurer)	
Also 5,555 bars of silver unvalued	
January 1, 1550-? 1552.....	1,133,500
(Alonso de Almaraz, treasurer)	
May 30, 1552-June 29, 1554.....	1,808,000
(Sancho de Hugarte, treasurer)	
July 16, 1554-July 27, 1555.....	284,000
(Antonio Ramirez Vasquez, treasurer)	
July 30, 1555-July 1, 1556.....	1,163,000
(Bernaldo Ruiz, treasurer)	
August 9, 1556-December 31, 1557.....	1,497,500
(Juan Muñoz Rico, treasurer)	

The total revenues during the last decade—May, 1548–December, 1557—were approximately 6,752,000 pesos, implying an average of over 675,000 pesos a year. During the same decade in New Spain, the annual average was only 486,700 pesos, and in Peru in the years preceding 1548 only about 204,000 pesos.

The chief sources of income in the southern Viceroyalty were the same as in the northern, the *quinto* and the tribute of the natives. Peru in the sixteenth century, however, especially after the discovery of the celebrated silver mines of Potosí in 1545, proved infinitely richer in the precious metals than New

⁵ Archivo de Indias, 10-3-1/25, 10-3-2/26, 10-3-4/28.

Spain, and far the greater part of the royal revenue was derived from this source. Customs, or *almojarifazgo*, were of less consequence. Import duties upon goods shipped from Europe to the Pacific coast of South America were paid at the Isthmus of Darien on the value as there appraised, while at Callao and Guayaquil there was collected merely five per cent of the increase in value which had accrued in transit from Panama. This five per cent, together with the customs on inter-colonial trade, formed a meager item of revenue, in contrast to the receipts at the great Mexican port of entry, Vera Cruz. During the incumbency of Alonso Riguelme, the *quinto* was roughly 3,330,000 pesos, or all but about 1/23 of the entire receipts. The tribute of the comparatively few natives not granted away to the *conquistadores* amounted to only about 76,000 pesos, and the *almojarifazgo* to about 17,000 pesos. In the following decade, 1548-1557, the *quinto* rose to over five and a quarter millions, and the tribute to approximately 445,500 pesos. Three-fourths of the latter was collected in the last two years, when, with the crushing of Giron's rebellion and the tardy enforcement of the "New Laws" of Charles V., many *encomiendas* were forfeited to the Crown.

The exchequer records for the islands and other territories in and about the Caribbean Sea—New Granada, Tierra Firme, Guatemala, Hispaniola, Porto Rico, and Cuba—are less complete than those for New Spain and Peru. For one thing, they were less carefully audited, or often not audited at all. The ledgers for some years, moreover, have disappeared altogether, while in those that have come down to us the items of receipt and expenditure are frequently either lacking, or so confused as to be impossible of reasonable interpretation. New Granada, ultimately the most important of these colonies, was not occupied by the Spaniards till 1538. Between that year and 1557 the Crown received as royalties from the mines and gold-washings about 573,700 pesos. Native tribute, which does not appear as a source of revenue till ten years after the conquest, amounted in the decade from 1547 to 1557 to nearly 21,000 pesos. In the same period the income from judicial fines was

about 6,000 pesos, and from ecclesiastical tithes, which in America were frequently collected and distributed by the Crown, perhaps twice that amount.⁶ In the captaincy-general of Guatemala, including most of Central America, during the first twenty years (1529-49) royalties on the precious metals produced an average of somewhat over 12,000 pesos a year. But after 1550 this rapidly dwindled, becoming of much less importance to the exchequer than the Indian tribute. The latter provided annually about 16,400 pesos.⁷ In Porto Rico the gold-washings apparently reached their maximum about 1516, when the *quinto* netted 47,500 pesos for the king.⁸ For a few years gold was also extracted on the king's own account, but it rarely amounted to more than three or four thousand pesos. The figures available for Cuba and Hispaniola cover only the years when gold production was rapidly declining, and the *quinto* (or *diezmo*, as it soon became in these islands) yielded but a few thousand a year. In the first half of the sixteenth century, however, San Domingo was still one of the principal ports of entry in the West Indies, and the *almojarifazgo* a source of considerable income. It rose from over eleven thousand a year between 1520 and 1525, to twenty-six thousand in the decade 1535-1545, and to forty-one thousand in the decade 1550-1560.⁹ After 1550 placer mining in the West Indies virtually ceased, and as the aboriginal population had died out or was killed off in little more than a generation, there was soon no such thing as Indian tribute. The islands also suffered all the misfortunes due to bad governors, absentee bishops, landlords, etc., and it was not long before receipts failed to meet the ordinary expenses of government.

Of even greater interest to the student of Spanish colonial history than the receipts of the various American treasurers, is an idea of how these moneys were expended. A large amount was of course shipped to Spain. The proportion this bore to the

⁶ *Ibid.*, 8-4-1/15.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 5-6-1/28.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Patronato Real, 2-2-1/19.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 6-3-1/13; 6-3-2/14.

entire receipts was greater in the first quarter of the sixteenth century than later. At first, when colonization centered in the West Indian Islands and the organization of government was comparatively simple, far the greater part of the royal income seems to have reached the king. But after the creation of the viceroyalties on the mainland, the expenses of administration became much heavier, and in spite of the discovery of rich mineral deposits, in the sixteenth century probably consumed fifty per cent of the revenues. Toward the close of the seventeenth century, when the military expenditures of the viceroyalties were very high, they consumed eighty per cent or more. In the reigns of Charles V. and Philip II., however, it seems to have been understood that all the *quinto* was reserved for the king's use, and in the long run the shipments to Spain were approximately equal to the income from that tax. Local needs, therefore, had to be met with revenue from other sources.

An analysis of the ledgers of Juan Alonso de Sosa, treasurer of New Spain between June, 1544 and December, 1549, provides an illustration of the credit side of the colonial exchequer accounts. Juan Alonso's papers are unusually full, and the items they contain quite typical of the treasury records both of New Spain and of other provinces. During these five and a half years the total receipts were 1,518,340 pesos. The largest disbursements were for the civil list, for military purposes, and in the form of remittances to the king. Of the latter, about 13,250 pesos in gold and 132,000 pesos in silver were sent as bullion; but in the same years over 450,000 pesos were paid out by royal order to Bernaldino de Mendoza, captain-general of the "*galeras despana*,"¹⁰ for the maintenance of his ships, and this sum should be included in the revenues received by the Crown. There should also be added about 5,800 pesos paid to colonists or to Spanish merchants whose remittances from America had been taken by the king in exchange for orders upon the Mexican treasury. The entire amount which the Crown drew from New Spain in these years was, therefore, over 600,000 pesos.

¹⁰ The term "*galeras de España*" usually referred to the Spanish naval forces in the Mediterranean, but it is possible that in this instance the "*galeras*" comprised a squadron convoying merchantmen across the Atlantic.

The civil list required in all 304,000 pesos, about half of which went to pay the salaries of the viceroy, judges, attorneys-general, treasury officials and minor placemen in the capital city. The rest was absorbed by the provinces, in the salaries of *corregidores*, *alcaldes mayores*, priests and other local officers. It also included annual payments of 500,000 *maravedís* each to the bishops of Oaxaca and Mechoacán, the tithes of whose dioceses were evidently collected by the king's officials. New Spain was then under the rule of its first viceroy, Don Antonio de Mendoza. His annual salary was 6,000 ducats,¹¹ 3,000 of which he received as viceroy and 3,000 as president of the supreme court or *audiencia*. He also drew 2,000 ducats additional for the maintenance of a horse and foot guard, which at that time consisted of a captain, ten horsemen and twenty footmen. The salary of the second viceroy, Luis de Velasco, who came out in 1550, was increased to 10,000 ducats. The judges or *oidores* of the *audiencia* received 500,000 *maravedís* a year, or 1,333 ducats, which was also the salary of the *Contador de Cuentas*, or auditor of the royal exchequer. The treasurer and comptroller of the exchequer received 510,000 *maravedís* apiece, the *Veedor* or inspector-general 390,000 *maravedís*, and the royal factor 170,000 *maravedís*. To the *Fiscal*, or attorney-general of the *audiencia*, was paid 150,000 *maravedís*, and to the captain of the arsenal 100,000 *maravedís*. High officials were likewise frequently given an *ayuda de costa* toward their living and traveling expenses.

The salary of a *corregidor* ranged from 100 to 380 pesos, according to the size of the *corregimiento* and its political importance. Parish priests received about 150–170 pesos a year, and *alguaciles* or constables 100–140 pesos. Salaries seem to have been generally somewhat lower in 1544 than ten years earlier.¹²

¹¹ A ducat was worth 375 *maravedís*, a silver peso 272 *maravedís*.

¹² In Peru the Marquis Pizarro's salary as governor was approximately 3,000 ducats, to which was added the "veintena." This seems to have been one-twentieth of the annual revenue from the royal estates, and in 1534 amounted to about as much as the governor's salary. Pizarro's stipend, therefore, was practically that of the first Mexican viceroy. His successor, the licentiate

The receipts from judicial fines and confiscations (*penas de cámara*) between 1544 and 1549 aggregated 22,348 pesos. There were paid out from this fund in the same time 20,340 pesos, virtually all in the form of gifts to monasteries, members of the Council of the Indies, officials of the Casa de Contratación at Seville, and to other servants of the king. *Ayudas de costa* to various members of the India Council, probably in recompense for special services in connection with their conciliar functions, were frequent, and usually given in sums of 150,000 *maravedís*. But other orders upon the *penas de cámara* were much more diversified: to the prior and brothers of the Augustinian monastery in Mexico City 165½ pesos for the purchase of books for the conventual library; to the same monastery 115 ducats to redeem certain books and a silver monstrance held in pledge in Seville; to Juan Vasquez de Molina, one of the king's secretaries, a grant of 1,650 pesos; to Captain Juan de Salazar, for services in the conquest of the provinces of the Rio de la Plata, 496 pesos; to the comptroller of the Casa de Contratación in 1548, 300 ducats, and to the treasurer in the same year, 450 ducats; to Miguel López de Legaspi, later celebrated as the conqueror of the Philippine Islands, for his services as secretary in New Spain to the royal *visitador*, Francisco Tello de Sandoval, 127 ducats; etc.¹³

Under the rubric, "*gastos extraordinarios*," were many expenditures of a similar nature to the above, but made by royal order presumably from the general funds of the exchequer. Such, for

Vaca de Castro, received 1,775,000 *maravedís*, or 4,733 ducats, a year. The judges of the *audiencia* at Lima were paid at first 800,000 *maravedís*, the treasurer, comptroller and factor of the royal exchequer 130,000 each. Before the middle of the century these figures had been raised to 900,000 and 510,000 respectively. In 1554 the viceroy's salary was fixed at 40,000 ducats, that of the judges rising to 1,350,000 *maravedís*, and of the exchequer officials to 900,000 *maravedís*. *Corregidores* in the Indian villages received about as much as in New Spain.

¹³ Grants of money out of the treasury of New Spain to courtiers, grandees, and members of the royal family (*i.e.*, Duke of Alba, Marquis of Mondejar, Duchess of Gandia, Queen of Bohemia, etc.) became increasingly frequent in the second half of the sixteenth century, and in the decade 1553-1563 amounted to 238,500 pesos.

instance, were 1,650 pesos a year for two years to Juan Gómez de Almacan, "*mayordomo*" of the college of Santiago in Mexico City, toward the support of eighty pupils and for books and vestments. Later there appears another grant to the same institution of 730 pesos. Five hundred pesos went to the purchase of beds and other necessities in a hospital founded in the same city for the poor suffering from "*mal de las bubas*." To Don Pedro, son of the fallen Aztec "emperor," Montezuma, was paid a pension of 100 pesos a year. Two grants of 82 pesos, 6 reals, each were made to Diego Muñoz, who was manager of the "*hato de las vacas*" belonging to his Majesty; 3,733 pesos were paid to the treasurer of the colony to cover the cost of transporting household effects to Mexico City from Vera Cruz; 16 pesos, 4 reals to a ship-captain for the passage of two friars and their belongings, presumably from Spain; etc. Finally, there were numerous gifts of wine and oil to the Dominican, Franciscan, and Augustinian orders, and sometimes of bells and vessels for the altar. Thus 1,008 pesos went to the Franciscans for the purchase of 252 *arrobas* of oil (over 900 gallons), required in one year by the 42 monasteries already existing in New Spain; while the Augustinians received 702 pesos a year for three years for the 102 *arrobas* of oil and 48 *arrobas* of wine used annually in their 16 establishments. Over 16,000 pesos were also contributed by the king in these years toward the construction of the great Augustinian monastery in the capital city.¹⁴

When Pedro de la Gasca was designated to go out to Peru and compose the civil discords which had rent the colony since the first days of the conquest, he called upon the authorities in New Spain for aid against the rebels, and in 1547 a small expedition of men and ships was in course of preparation. The order was rescinded by Gasca before the year was out, but not before large sums had been expended, involving a considerable strain upon the exchequer. In all about 192,500 pesos were consumed, for munitions, provisions, and in aid of the officers and men who

¹⁴ During the next four years, 1550-1553, over 22,000 pesos were contributed to the same pious object.

volunteered for the enterprise.¹⁵ This amount, added to the 450,000 contributed to the "*galeras despana*," brings the total for military and naval expenditure to 643,000 pesos.

After the promulgation by Charles V. in 1542-43 of the celebrated New Laws, abolishing the slavery and in large measure the serfdom of the American aborigines, many of the colonists were deprived of their sole source of income. The original *conquistadores*, companions of Cortés, and their sons were regarded as possessing a peculiar claim upon the liberality of the government, and the *audiencia* came to their rescue with annuities charged upon the tribute which the Crown collected from the confiscated *encomiendas*. These pensions varied between 50 and 300 pesos a year, there being but one grant of as much as 500 pesos, to a certain Rodrigo de Castaneda. Altogether about 76,000 pesos were paid out by the Mexican treasurer on this account. Over 64,000 pesos were also distributed in small sums to other needy persons who it seems had performed services for the government, or had been promised minor offices by the Crown, but were unprovided for because the demand had outrun the supply. The total disbursements of Alonso de Sosa in these five and a half years were over 1,335,000 pesos.

Comparing the foregoing figures with those of the Mexican exchequer 150 years later (1688-96), we find that in the latter period the disbursements were about 14½ million pesos. The civil list, including ecclesiastical charges, required 2,300,000 pesos, and military and naval expenditures for the colony 1,700,000 pesos; while the subsidies drawn from Mexico for the maintenance of garrisons in Cuba, Hispaniola, Porto Rico, Florida, and the Philippines (none of these regions being self-supporting) consumed six millions more. As already stated, there were sent to the king 926,000 pesos in coin and bullion, but a million and a half were also paid out on warrants issued by the Crown in Spain. The king's share was therefore a trifle less than 2½ million pesos.¹⁶

¹⁵ Guatemala spent over 37,000 *pesos de minas*, New Granada about 12,500, and Hispaniola a like amount, in the sending of ships and men to the aid of Gasca in his Peruvian campaign.

¹⁶ See Note 4.

The history of the Spanish colonial exchequer deserves a volume in itself. The writer has not had time or opportunity to examine in detail the records in Seville beyond 1560. But if those of the 250 years following were analyzed in somewhat similar fashion, we might have a picture of Spanish colonial society and government such as could scarcely be secured in any other way. That the organization of the royal *hacienda* changed appreciably under the later Hapsburgs there is no evidence. New taxes were added as the monarchy became progressively more impoverished. Monopolies of playing cards, pepper, salt, and finally of tobacco, were created; the sale of public offices, and the extraction of "benevolences" from the king's colonial subjects, became more and more general, and pernicious in their effects; the *alcabala* was extended to the colonies by Philip II., and the *mesada* and *media anata*, taxes analogous to the medieval papal annates, were imposed on ecclesiastical and secular officials by his grandson, Philip IV. In the meantime the colonies themselves, on the mainland at least, had increased in numbers and wealth, and the income of the colonial governments, as we have seen, became many times greater. But so also did the expenses of the complex ecclesiastical and political administration, and of the extravagant viceregal court. In the eighteenth century, with the more efficient management introduced by a new dynasty and the opening of fresh silver deposits in Mexico, the Crown obtained from America a more lucrative income. In the decade 1768-1777 over ten million pesos were transmitted to Cadiz from New Spain as the proceeds of the tobacco monopoly alone.

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